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Tucano SQ19

[Information on the maloca, the communal shelter, has been filed in category 592.]

224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

• 342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

•342 /102 cont./
There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed
[824] at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592 The size of the maloca varies according to the number of
342 its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to
[162] shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements
596 /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily
[287] clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the
177 Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental
797 clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

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Typical maloca (house) of the Tukano linguistic group. (Photos by M. Fulop.)

3: Fulop--53 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

4: Silva--46 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 33 in the original source/

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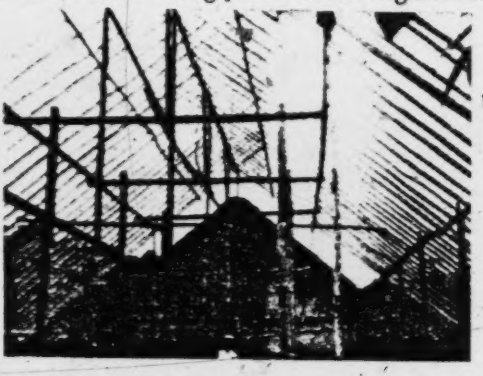

Maloca under construction (Kúbewana tribe)

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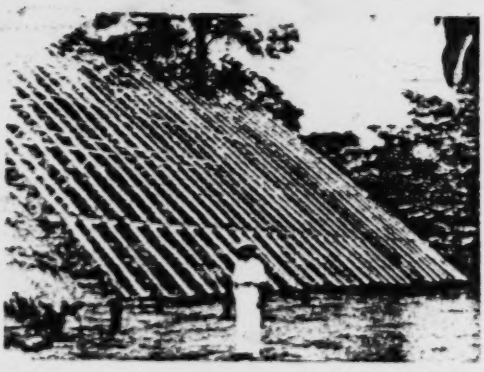
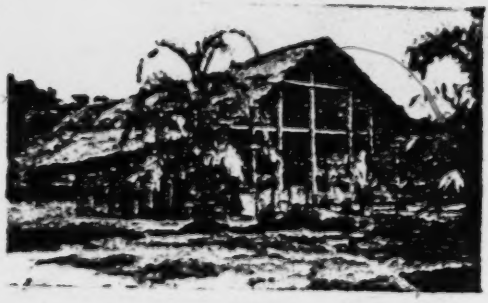


At Ambaína (Querari River, tributary of the Uaupés)



Maloca under construction (Iawareté-tapuya tribe, Siari River, tributary of the Içana)

/43 cont./

101 A pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of the stream Japú (Japu igarapé, Uaupés River), Henrique by name, when asked by us whether he knew the tribe Gí-tapuya (1955), answered us that they are the "Pirá-tapuya of the tail" (that is, the last subdivision of the Pirá-tapuya), called in Tukano Komé-pá-põrã, formerly living above the stream Japú, and who today live in S. Francisco (river Uaupês). This location coincides with the one that can be seen on the map drawn up by Hamilton Rice (cf. Mapas do Rio Uaupés N. A. 19 e Rio Putamayo S. A. 19 -- Provisional Edition Published under the Patronage of Hamilton Rice -- Geographical Society of New York).

(5) -- IPECA -- They are the Kumãdene, one group of which resides today in Urubucuara, as we shall see later (cf. IV -- 2, x /p. 171/).

(6) -- JACAMIM -- Passed over in silence on the other lists. We read in Pelo Rio Mar: "Jacami-tapuia, trombeteiros /trumpeter/ Indians. Indicated on the river Uaupés. Perhaps the same Buchpu-machsa."

From the natives of Pari-cachoeira Koch Grünberg obtained information about the Buchpu-machsa (which means "People of the sarabatana /blowgun/," because they are specialists in the making of this weapon), or Buhágana, /44/ as they call themselves, inhabitants of the Dyi-Igarapé, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, which, in turn, empties into the Japurá. He found out that they lived in round huts, pierced the ear lobes and wore an apron of bark around the thighs, and had never seen a civilized person. Their language, of which Koch could later gather a vocabulary of 60 words, is almost identical to that of the Õmõã, and both, in some words, deviate from the Tukano (Z.I. 180). They made large (3.5 meters) and heavy sarabatanas, because they used them as supports /Port. apoiadas/ (Z.I. 207). It must be pointed out, however, that the Buhágana about whom Koch informs us are not located on the Uaupés. For this reason we think that they cannot be identified with the Jacamim. A comparison of the vocabularies that we collected from the Ide and from the Emõã and that of the Buhágana of

[342] [304] [291] [287]

/143/

153

4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present [438] [291] [285] to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

177 829 • [342] [291]

His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

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/144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

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They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

/168/

25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

192 286 301 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú, tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

192 291 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

177 291 The new generation, both of the female and male sex, which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

/171/

Chapter VI

Material Culture

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1. Dwelling, wi'ĩ.

Under the name of material culture (Sachkultur of the German authors), we mean the conjunction of objects that the forest dweller produces for the necessities of life. They are, properly speaking, the material objects in which they manifest their cultural level.

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The tribes that we have studied are not nomads. They have been established in the actual phase in which we found them for several generations or centuries (as far as the record completed by some pieces of information from the first travelers extends) in the same place, from where they move only because of epidemics or fights. The dissident group then goes to build a new house or to start another povoado, ordinarily not very far from the first one, perhaps barely a few kilometers away.

• 342
[178]

Even today malocas that are quite old, half a century perhaps, are admired. Particular circumstances (fire, storm, etc.) might likewise force the construction of a new maloca. The Indian always prefers to make a new house instead of repairing the old one, if it is greatly damaged. Although for the new construction he will often make use of the beams and, more commonly, the straw of the covering, especially if it is still good and he would have to go very far to find new straw. Thus, in dealing with sedentary tribes, it is natural that we find good dwellings. Since it is a zone with frequent and torrential rains, the simple construction of clay is not suitable.

*[192]

The system of covering, peókaro, is always that of two slopes and with great inclination, so that the drip of the roof will remain only a meter or a little more above the ground.

*[192]

The palm for the covering will vary according to the resources of the region; they generally use the caraná (maurítia flexuósa, Wall.), pĩ'sẽ, because, besides protecting well from the rains, it lasts for many years. They usually complete the covering starting from the drip.

/171 cont./

*192
• 342 They use the caraná palms without any more work, superimposing them in such a way that one again covers part of the other. For the other palms, /172/ like the buçú, muhĩ, they must first weave the leaflets (it is what is called muhĩ-pama, plaited buçú), and in different layers, so that they perfectly block the rains (it is the muhĩ-peókaro system).

At other times they prepare the buçú between laths on the ground; it is the muhĩ-deróke (sewed buçú). They sew a bunch of leaves, that is, they bind some palms between two laths in such a way that they constitute a rectangular piece two by three meters, more or less; it is what is called muhĩ-swá-ká-pãma (piece of sewed buçú).

Of the walls, tyákaro, the side ones (so'mĩta-tyákaro) are preferably of plaited palm. One more frequently finds walls of pehé, a palm that reaches two to three meters in length and 30 to 40 centimeters in width; or also of moá, the palms of which are wider, the leaflets reaching some 60 centimeters.

The main walls (front and back), in the classic style of the malocas (so we were informed by Júlio, tuxaua of Parĩ-cachoeira, river Tiquié), are, instead, made of tree bark (yuxkõ-kaxserĩ tyákaro) up to a certain height (1),

> 1. In one place and another we saw huts that, instead of bark, had walls made of paxiúba trunks, open and beaten, in such a way as to exhibit the appearance of rustic planks or slabs.

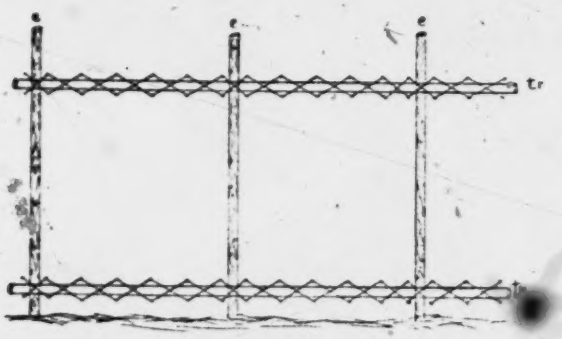
and completed up to the roof with the açaĩ /assai/ palm, mixpĩ yókaro.

342 They prepare the bark in such a way that it resembles wide planks. They cut a cipo as a measure of the length that the bark must have, ordinarily five to six meters. They go into the forest, choose the tree, and with a cutting object (formerly the simple stone ax or even any sharp point) make a cut around on the upper part and another on the lower part of the trunk, according to the size desired. Afterwards they make small cuts in the

/172 cont./

342 cortex, beat it quite hard with a stick along the bark, in order for the latter to come loose. Following that, they make a longitudinal cut in it, and with a small spatula go to separating the bark, which might be a meter or more in width, from the trunk. They transport the bark home, and in order that it not roll up, they pile one piece on top of another, well stretched, with a weight on top.

To make the walls, a crossbar /Port. travessa/ (tr) is placed horizontally a span from the ground, and another one higher up, above, parallelly, at an interval of a meter or more, quite firmly tied with cipo to posts /Port. estacas/ (e). To these crossbars or straight pieces are applied vertically the planks of bark, already quite dry, and on them are placed new straight pieces, parallel to the first ones, in order to hold the bark. Afterwards one Indian from the outside and another from the inside make four holes and, with cipo, they sew /173/ the pieces of bark to



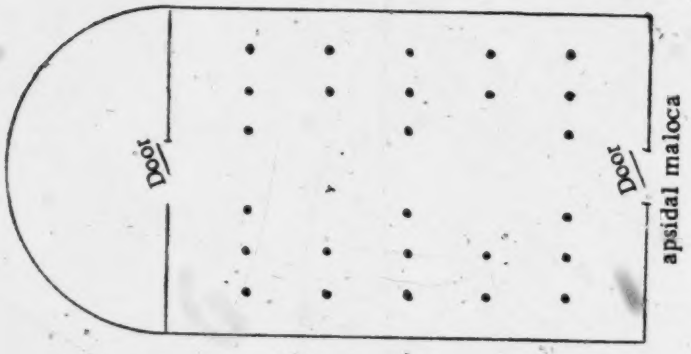
the straight pieces, there sometimes resulting from this stitching an X with quite a bit of regularity and symmetry around the crossbars.

[531] Upon these pieces of bark are frequently found paintings, the latex of the sorva serving as paint, with clay of different colors.

/173 cont./

342 *[192] [178] At present all the malocas that are still found in the region of the Uaupés and its tributaries are rectangular. Up to 40 years ago, one saw some with the posterior part of roundish shape, like an apse, called do'ákaro-tirí-wy'í (maloca with kitchen) (2).

2. The maloca of the Tuyuka in Pinó-koa-liró on the upper Tiquié, which Koch Grünberg affirmed measured 27x17.80x7.80 meters, was apsidal in this way (Zwei Jahre, 204).



353 *[192] [421] This /174/ apse was separated, in the interior of the maloca, by a partition of matting that was called i'mña-ta'tyá (separation of matting). The family of the tuxaua resided in this apsidal compartment, and the ornaments, musical instruments, and utensils of common use, which constituted the collective property of the group, were kept in it.

177 342 *[192] With the increase in comfort of the Indians and in the instinct of ownership (and up to a certain point it is imitation or even the prompting of the civilized), there appear small houses, wi'í,

/174 cont./

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[192]

family type, of straw or bark or even of pau-a-pique (3),

> 3. By pau-a-pique or taipa (in Tukano di'tá pyákaro) is understood, in all Brazil, the house whose walls consist of a hurdle of pales and laths, which is then filled in and plastered with mud or mortar.

instead of the old and large malocas, baxsá-wi or baxsarí-wi (dance house) (4)

> 4. That of Parí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, disappeared about 20 years ago, measured approximately 60 by 30 meters, attests Pe. João Marchesi.

for a whole local group.

It is to be noted in the present povoados that all the houses have the same rectangular style. They are, on a small scale, a [197] maloca. They are not alike, however, nor do they follow any alignment, except for the cases of intervention by the missionaries. In imitation of the houses of the Mission, today one sees some houses with a small porch or shed.

361 As for the location, it is always on the bank of a river or stream (5).

> 5. Paulo /Paul/ Rivet characterizes the civilization of these tribes as "mandioca civilization." Perhaps with more accuracy one should say "mandioca and fishing civilization." We have found, especially in the region inhabited by the Karapanã and Tatú, malocas in the interior of the forest 500 or 600 meters from the streams. This distance is dictated by the circumstances, in order for them to protect themselves against attacks and violence.

/175 cont./

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• 342 The Tuyuka maloca of the place S. Pedro (upper Tiquié), in the vicinity of the Colombian border, was (in 1947) one of the oldest ones. We have seen similar ones in other tribes (Tukano, Kubẽwãna, Wanãna, Bara, Karapanã, Ide-masã, Hanẽrã, Ihwãna, Roéra, and Baniva). During our visit in 1954 we verified that it had already been abandoned.

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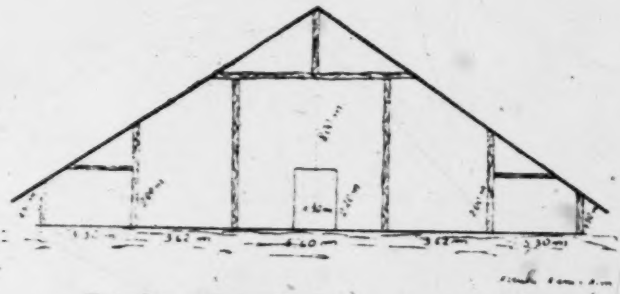

Tuyuka maloca (S. Pedro, river Tiquié)

It was built according to the ancient customs. We shall describe it, then, as a model of this type of construction. It was rectangular, measuring 27.60 meters in length by 18 meters in width. The covering was of two slopes, with a quite pronounced declivity for rapid flow. On the interior it measured 7.30 meters in height up to the ridge, ending at 90 centimeters from the ground, in such a way that the side walls measured only 1.52 meters in height. The carana roof extended a little farther in the part corresponding to the doors, in order to protect them from the rains.

The main walls followed the classical style, that is, they were made of tree bark up to 2.5 meters of height, and afterwards of assai plaiting. The side walls were of pehé.

*[192]

*192 /176 cont./
• 342 It was solidly built upon five pairs of supports, boxtá-ri (9),

9. Greatly preferred for supports is the "pau-vermelho" /red wood/ (mira-piranga) of the Caesalpiniaceae.

which demarcate the central nave (see the nomenclature of the columns - VII - 4, e (2)). They were roundish pieces of timber, straight, rustic (without removal of the bark), but quite regular and well-proportioned, as were also the beams, nɛ̃xtõ-rĩ (Uaupés, nɛ̃xtõ-nĩ), and rafters, wa' sõ-rĩ (U. wa' sõ-nĩ).

All the timberwork was solidly joined together with cipo (10).

[177] 10. In some of the modern houses nails are already appearing in beams, laths, etc.

353 In the interior the supports, all of them nicely aligned, divided the space into five naves. The three central ones for common use: passage, meetings, dances, visits, and
[415] work. Kept there, but toward the back, were the utensils /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /177/ of common use, such were the large vessels of baked clay and the wooden tubs for the fermentation of the caxirís, and the oven for making the flour. It is here that the dances are performed on the occasion of the festivals (11).

11. Some malocas have only three naves, the central one being wider. We have also seen four naves. In those with five, the three intermediary naves are always used for work (preparation of the flour, of the caxirí, etc.) and for meetings.

/177 cont./

• 342 592 *[192] The two outer naves, which correspond to the lower part of the roof, along the drip, were intended as the residence of the families: each nave had four divisions, in all, then, eight compartments, which are called wi'í-khãra tuxkũ-rĩ (Uaupés wi'í-khãna tuxkũ-nĩ).

In that of the tuxaua the separation might by chance be a little better; it was not enough, however, to obstruct the view from the inside. In some malocas there was absolutely no separation at all. One can then say that there are imaginary divisions, corresponding to the beams and the supports of the maloca.

*192 592 35 The posts that support the roof serve for tying the hammocks there and, in the two inhabited naves, permit the setting up of a platform, kaxsá-wõ, approximately 2.00 meters from the ground, serving as a shelf where each family keeps part of its household goods, and also beijú, flour, and smoked meat, the heavier objects staying on the ground.

Each division has its small stove or trivet, which, in all the native houses, consists of three vessels, vitári-a (see VI - 2, a (2)), of baked clay, among which are placed the wood chips.

*192 342 There are two doors, soxpé: a main one as an entrance, turned toward the river, called mĩxpĩ-yókaro-soxpé, and another at the back of the maloca, for the use of its occupants exclusively, doákaro-ká-soxpé; the former measuring 2.5 by 1.5 meters in width, with a beam 20 centimeters in height as a sill.

Serving as a partition for the two doors, there is a mat, soxpé-pãma (in Nheengatú japá), of quite strong strips, with a frame of round pieces of wood. In some malocas the door resembles a strong and thick double hurdle, in whose spaces are inserted palm leaves, in order to block the rain and the wind better. The mats are suspended, like Venetian blinds, from the upper part of the portal. They are kept open during the day, the lower part being raised by means of a cipo, mĩ-yori-da, which hangs from the roof, or by means of a pole resting on the ground, soxpé-tú-kõ or soxpé-túñe-kõ. At times they reinforce the door at night with a bar, nẽxtõ-pĩ.

/178/

342 373 Having, then, only two openings, the interior is always somewhat dark, being, in part, illuminated by the stoves (12).

*[192]

12. Sometimes, on one or more posts, which seem planted only for this purpose, they light at night a piece of resin called cicantá, which burns with a quite intense and long-lasting light, and leaves as residue a tar which also serves for calking the canoes.

177 342 574 In the modern family-huts, there is customarily an interior partition, generally made of bark. Perhaps this division, which is being adopted, has been suggested by the convenience when they must house some guest, especially the civilized. The Indian ordinarily is very hospitable; he not only receives guests for the great caxirís, but he also shelters any Indian or white who might be traveling. The first division near the door is reserved exclusively for the guests (see VII - 4, e 2 a).

[797] In some povoados, at the request of the Missionary, they build a large hut that serves for overnight stays of the Padre and as a chapel, when there is no other place reserved for worship.

342 *[192] Some malocas (and also Makú huts), in which the roof ends very close to the ground, completely or partially lack side walls. Such walls are regularly dispensed with in the oxkóro-áro (Nheengatú tapirí or papirí), or emergency huts, which they make in the distant clearings or on the banks of the rivers where they are accustomed to staying overnight on the occasion of trips and fishing expeditions.

177 342 Ordinarily the maloca or house is alone and contains all the family household goods. Auxiliary houses, however, are beginning to appear. The maloca of the Tuyuca, described above, has one of these. One of the Indians, knowing a little Portuguese, explained that it was the "succursal" of the maloca. Much smaller and only partially protected by side walls, made of straw and bark. There were about 14 hammocks reserved for the Makú in service, the flour oven, sieves, hampers, suspended tipitis,

[353] [415]

177 /178 cont./
• 342 vessels of baked clay, and a cylindrical bark container, quite
353 well made, similar to the straight barrels in which we keep
415 chestnuts and codfish.

Nowadays (and since the time of the discoveries, as the
231 first explorers attest) the dog, which, besides guarding, also serves for hunting, is found as a domestic animal in the various malocas and houses, and in all the tribes. Ordinarily small, hungry, extremely thin; some do not support the weight of the body. Many of these animals, due to the stings of the fire ant or taxi, have suffered degeneration of the cornea and for this reason have white eyes.

/179/ Here and there in the malocas and povoados are also seen araras, parrots, mutums /Crax/, jacamins, or domesticated jacus. The Missions have encouraged the raising of
[797] pigs and chickens. The chickens go back to the first colonizers
[177] of the Rio Negro, and to protect them, by way of a chicken coop where they are sheltered during the night, they make small conical enclosures with the vertex upwards, or they use some old canoe, turned upside down, with an opening that they close at night, in order that the micura (gambá /opossum/) or some other animal that chases chickens can not enter.

*[192] In the Arwáke languages the chicken is called karáka, probably onomatopoeia for the chicken's voice. Onomatopes are otherwise very common among the tribes of the Uaupés to designate the birds. Perhaps from karáka is derived the word of the Tukano language which means chicken, i.e., ká'rẽkẽ or ka'rẽkẽ (Uaupés ká'nẽkẽ, ka'nẽkẽ). According to this hypothesis, it is from the Arwáke that the Tukano (and the tribes of the Uaupés in general) would have received the first chickens, or at least knowledge of them. Such a hypothesis is made probable, not only by the greater cultural development of the Arwáke, but also by their prior relationship with the civilized of the Rio Negro.

342 It seems that there is no rule with regard to the orientation of the maloca or with regard to the distance from the river or from the forest.

/194 cont./

286 531 In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192 d) Basketry and plaited work.

285 [462] [342] [227] For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of some trees, especially that which they call pi'í-karõ-gõ. They use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxiúba (waxtá), patauá (yumĩ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mĩ-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mĩ'sĩ) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phĩ), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824] The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantaceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When [386] [531] they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves.

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

278 /289 cont./

757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant
*[192] called Taá-dõxká (45),

45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b)): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

• 342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

[178] [764] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night [164] [354] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

/341/

192 535 796 The second columns are called baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri; because it is beside the second column that the tuxáua takes the initial position (wihyá: to come out) for the dances (baxsá). And the respective beam is called baxsá wihyári-tẽrõ.

The columns at the back are called do'ákaro-ká-boxtá-ri, because the caxirí is prepared there (do'ákaro, place where one cooks, so explained Júlio). And do'karo-ká-tẽrõ is the beam that corresponds to them.

i) kaxpí-tõ, pot for the kaxpí

j) seat for the one who distributes the kaxpí, kaxpí tõamĩ duhirí kõmũ-rõ

l) hammock of the tuxáua; his compartment is called syõrĩ nĩgõya tuxkũ

The compartments of the residents of the maloca are called wi'i-ikhãraye tuxkũrĩ.

[342] [622] With the hypothesis of its being a religious function, we must conclude that the temple is the maloca. Its name, baxsarí-wi, should be translated "house of the sacred dance," and not simply "dance house." The Priest is evidently the tuxáua, and not the pajé. The tuxáua, then, ties together the domestic, political, and sacerdotal powers, precisely like the ancient tribal chiefs among the Greeks and the Romans, and, in general, the chiefs of the primitive tribes.

a) "Poosé" without the mysterious instruments.

1) Ritual procession and banquet.

796 [628] The tuxáua of the maloca that decides to hold one of these feasts determines the day and the offering, and tells this to the tuxáua of another maloca (of the same tribe or of a different tribe) where he is going to give his Poosé. The malocas take turns with this proposal. [178] Formerly they were held with greater frequency, six or more times a year, as we said above, constituting the great preoccupation of these Indians. Not only are they being put off more, but their duration has also been reduced. Formerly they lasted as long as an entire week; today the cases in which they

/397 cont./
534 took up a position in front of the second post at the left, in the
535 /398/ central nave (133).

[342]

133. Their rectangular maloca, although not of large dimensions, corresponded to a division of five naves: the central high nave, under the ridge, two side spaces, and, along the side walls, the space reserved for the families. It is to be noted, however, that there is no interior partition between family and family.

The men imitated his steps and, on his left, formed an open semi-circle.

[192]

1st Part: Each one places the left hand on the right shoulder of the companion (Pá-bwasé is the Tukano name for this gesture). They execute some rhythmic beats with the pestle-tube (it is what is called yuxkõ-mẽra doxkesé) and some steps with the right foot forward and back (du'tisé). Then the line moves (nikã̄-ká eheanõ-kátyã̄ra baxsasé) to the right and to the left until the circumference is closed, making some turns from the left to the right (sũtõasé) (134).

134. They explained to us that they are imitating the bavarí fish, which, before depositing its eggs, makes a few turns.

533 At the same time the men slowly sing unintelligible words, with a
535 frequent burden in which are sounded many times the syllables "paia-paia." The rhythm is accelerated at the end, and a cry and a heavy stroke with the rhythm tubes end the first part. During this
[562] part the women remained seated in conversation near the door, to the left of anyone who enters (135).

[123]

135. We, the three civilized observers, were to be found on the opposite side, at the right.

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part of the Central American and Andean jaguar distribution; perhaps the Cubeo ranked clans and ancestral cult are also part of the Andean picture. However, where there is a cultural relationship it is probable that it moves in either direction. The lowlands took from the Andes; it is likely that they gave as well. Perhaps a close study of social conditions in the tropical forest could shed specific light on the spectacular historical developments in the Andes. The way in which the Cubeo maloca, the multifamily residence, tends to become a sib ceremonial center for those sib members who have broken away from it illustrates, for example, a possible process of ceremonial center formation.

Questions of culture history are inevitably to the fore when one compares the tropical forest with the Andes. But even as a separate entity the tropical forest area commands culture-historical interest. Cubeo social structure, for example, suggests some of the ways in which small social units such as extended and joint families and lineages grow into and combine to form more complex and more highly integrated social systems. Segments of one tribe attach themselves as entities to other tribes adopting a new language. Federations of segments are formed by various combinations of adoption, adhesion, and fusion; these bind themselves together by ceremonial ties and not by ordinary political means of suprachieftainship. Other processes are at work elsewhere in the region. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that detailed comparative studies of tropical forest social structures could provide a rich foundation for the reconstruction of modes of social evolution, within a fixed range of social integration. As native Africa is a natural laboratory for the study of nascent states, the South American tropical forest as a major culture area is a natural laboratory for the study of variations in a small community, and lineage and clan organization.

In the foregoing discussion my intent was to provide the reader with a broad problem setting in which the Cubeo are viewed generally as a tropical forest culture. Since tropical forest anthropology is not too widely known this seemed a useful thing to do. However, the Cubeo are more specifically a part of the Northwest Amazon subculture area. The Northwest Amazon is designated as a subarea of the tropical forest in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. Not a sharply delineated area, it includes several of the major languages of lowland South America: Arawakan, Cariban, Tucanoan, Witotoan, and Macú. Of these language groups, Tucanoan (the language of the Cubeo), Witotoan, and Macú are restricted to the Northwest Amazon and were until recently listed as unclassified languages

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[171] the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character [342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the [712] strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large com- [567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor. [596] The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu- [553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social seg- [614] ments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into [796] one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The [773] Cubeo culture hero *Kówai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yuri*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans. [197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com- [765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 197 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of culture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurí River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwä* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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177 182 [171] sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small *mestizo*-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand, [342] [796] [346] when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are 177 291 182 stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness. As late as 1909 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper Vaupés and all over the Cuduiarí where the women were totally naked and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiarí and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

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along the same river belong to a common phratry and share, therefore, rules of exogamy, origin traditions, and mutual obligations of hospitality.

Close up, a community is revealed as a clearing of a dozen acres or so hacked out in a crude semicircle from the banks of the river. Since the river may rise some ten feet or more in the rainy season the clearing is always on the high bank and will necessarily follow in its shape the contours of high land. The maloca stands toward the river. A house is not aligned according to absolute directions, but always with reference to the river, which the Cubeo, in contrast to other tribes in the region, insist upon keeping in view. No house will have its front door facing the forest, though its rear door may. In some cases the rear door abuts almost on the very edge of the manioc cultivations.

A residence site is commonly called *tawí*, a term that appears in the naming chants and that I have rendered in free translation as "soil." A related term that is also used is *taibú* (a made place), a clearing. These two terms refer then to that part of the territory that has been prepared both for cultivation and for housing. A more inclusive territorial term is *makáno*, that embraces the uncleared forest and can also mean "forest." Still another term for a residence site is *hobánu*, based on *hobá*, a cleared place for planting. More commonly, however, the manioc cultivations are called *hawabá* (food place).

Within the requirements of contour and with leeway granted to accommodate individual community preferences, clearings tend to conform to a common plan. The maloca is the hub from which the outer edges of the clearing are plotted with approximately equal radii – footpaths – leading to the bitter manioc cultivations. The manioc cultivations form a broad outer belt of the clearing that, in poorer communities, begins very close to the rear or rear side wall of the house and that in prosperous and more prideful communities is at some distance. In the latter communities, the zone of plantings begins far enough away so that the women at work in their manioc gardens are out of sight and out of sound, only the plumes of white smoke from each garden signaling silently that a woman is at work there. No matter how confined the total clearing, the house rests within an inner clearing of secondary cultivations and, ultimately, within a totally cleared space or plaza. The maloca is more or less at the center of these three concentric zones. The river (*hya*) itself is a fourth zone.

These four zones have their social counterparts in that they may be identified as male and female, although, it should be said, the Cubeo do not themselves make this identification.

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361 554 [157] [123] Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they entertain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or encouraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they did not care to have visitors.

• 342 361 622 768 When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one requirement of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new maloca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations. At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transitional period when the community is actually working both clearings. The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old *chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

361 [311] The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some 15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again. Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiarí and the Querarí. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong occupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Giacone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (referring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiarí, for example, a trail leads to the Querarí. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahúkiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiari; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way.

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Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain.

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses.

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In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y general*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habóku*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kendmi upáku* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along

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the Cuduiarí I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

THE MALOCA

The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manufactured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play outside and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the doorway of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and facing inward.

When I came among the *Bahúkiwa* they were on the upswing, having come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-compartment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was 75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction. The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The headman is known as *kenámi upákū* (owner of the house). The house is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo believe, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relationships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook discourtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community. The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove the source of disaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
342 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
614 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
621 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
554 self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can
(592) attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding.

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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

342 353 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 353 531 532 [604] [184] Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 252 [264] Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports, that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 554 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 354 [513] [512] At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 614 591 [768] While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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462 simple basket is often a matter of several weeks. Every man has at
461 his side, so to speak, a number of unfinished objects which he hopes to get at before too long.

462 The sexual division of labor in manufactures is rather firmly main-
323 tained. I learned of few objects in use that were not made by a member of the proper sex. Young men are drawn to pottery making, but they may handle clay in a playful manner only. They make pots and dishes in strange shapes, working rather expertly. Such dishes are given to children as toys and are soon destroyed. Children, boys and girls, play with clay, making small animal or human figures and quickly destroying them. No permanent clay figures are ever made. Serious pottery work is an annual affair, undertaken by the women when the falling river has exposed the clay banks. All at once the women working together renew the household ceramic ware.

• 342 Manufacture is most often a group activity, and like all group ac-
[461] tivities is regarded by the Indians as a pleasurable recreation. The
[476] exception to this rule is perhaps housebuilding, which is often strenuous. Even then, when the exertion of the task has broken the spell of good feeling, the men stop and turn to another task. A large maloca can be a very long time in building. Among the *Bahúkiwa* a house begun when I arrived was not yet complete when I left almost a year later. A house must be built by a group working together not only for technical reasons, but in obedience to the principle that all who are going to live in it must work on it.

Building the communal house is a major technical and social enterprise. It tests the capabilities of the headman and the morale of the community. The true maloca is a solid structure built with great care, skill, and concern for details. Temporary houses may be slipshod in construction, but when a house is slipshod it is either clearly designated as temporary or it will be a cause of shame. Every
342 part of the house is built with the greatest care, but nothing reveals
284 more clearly the Cubeo concern for combining structural integrity and aesthetic design than the lashings that hold all the materials together. The most conspicuous lashings are those that bind the main beams. The builders start with temporary house posts and with temporary lashings. Finally, when the entire structure is in place, an expert lasher goes over the entire inner structure, replacing the beams and rebinding them in a consistent pattern, using carefully chosen
342 lianas. The Cubeo are painstaking in all crafts, but the maloca is
[114] their supreme creation. I was able to observe almost every stage in
[461] the construction of a maloca among the *Bahúkiwa*. I do not recall that a single bundle of roofing thatch was laid under pressure or

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under duress. Men worked on the house only when they felt cheerful and dedicated to the work. The man who felt out of sorts dropped away and returned only when his spirits had improved. Dependency upon mood was one of the most important factors delaying completion of a house.

Even so, the magnitude of the technical problems is not to be underestimated. The mere assemblage of material is a complex, arduous, and time-consuming task. Construction materials are not always close to hand. The *Bahúkiwa* fetched roofing thatch from the mouth of the Cuduiarí in what was technically the territory of the *Hehénewa* sibs. Their house of 12 compartments consumed 360 bundles of thatch, and, since each canoe could transport only five bundles, over a hundred canoe loads were needed, a task that would normally be spread out over many months. The *Bahúkiwa* headman was able to borrow from the *Comisaría* a large cargo barge and in this way a great deal of time was saved. Even so, a large party of several households camped for weeks on the lower river during a dry season, gathering and preparing the parana palm thatch (*trinâ*). Altogether, thatch gathering consumed 50 days of the time of at least half the community. The practice is for the headman to institute a "crash program" to get each phase of the work well under way. His problem is to fit each phase of construction into the routine of daily and of seasonal life with minimum disruption. Strictly speaking, the decisions are not his. His is the technical voice, but he will do nothing without discussion with the household heads. Roofing can be cut during the two dry seasons and can never be finished in only one. Gathering, trimming, and binding the parana palm leaves into sheaves is the only housebuilding task in which women share.

The headman, together with his firmest supporters, that is, his own sons and blood brothers, has the specific responsibility for erecting the central framework, the three pairs of heavy posts that will support the main weight of the roof. Others may help in this if they wish but they have no specific obligation to do so. The inner framework of three pairs of heavy posts forms the inner box around which the rest of the house is built. The timbers must be carefully chosen and then well dug in, while the parallelogram must be very carefully laid out. The floor plan is laid out with long sticks, and right angles are very accurately estimated. The rest of the framework including the ridgepole is a collective enterprise and is the second stage of construction. Roofing is the third stage. When enough roof has been laid down to provide even a bare shelter, the close kin of the headman move in.

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move in. The walls and the two great doors that can be swung up are built long after the house is fully occupied.

283 824 Much of a man's spare time is devoted to preparing string of one sort or another — fishline, hammock strings, binding ropes. The most common material is from the miriti palm. The palm leaf is boiled in water and allowed to soak until long, strong fibers can be drawn from it. These fibers have extraordinary tensile strength and, therefore, have wide use among the Indians. The lower and thicker part of the leaf is slit with a knife or broken by hand to expose the fibers, which are then stripped off in one smooth, continuous motion. The man holds the leaf pinned to the ground with his great toe and pulls [462] the fibers upward. Essentially it is men's work but women and children help in pulling out the fibers. After the fibers have been allowed to dry by exposure to the air, several are joined together and rolled on the thigh into a string. Occasionally a woman helps her husband roll fishline. The end of the string is gripped between the great toe and its adjacent member and allowed to pass under the frontal arch of the foot and so is held firm. Rolling twine is leisurely work. Men rarely make more than they need for a particular purpose. [314] Fishline is coated with resin. This will not only strengthen it and make it easier to handle, but, the men told me, the resin darkens the line so that it will not be seen by the fish.

463 The Cubeo have no true category of specialist. That is to say, they expect all adults to possess the skills for making all ordinary household articles that are on the roster of sib manufactures. They must, of course, contend with differences in aptitude. They do so by giving the inept the fullest technical help, either by advice, or, if necessary, by virtually making the article. But even when total aid is given, the object is considered to have been made by its owner with help.

463 622 Items of public use, and these include ceremonial equipment and musical instruments, require special proficiency and are made by the headman and by aspirants to the office. The headman then is a specialist, but his specialty is in esoteric objects for public use.

TRADE

439 The entire Northwest Amazon area is a vastly complex trading network. Objects of every description, household implements, ornaments, musical instruments, ceremonial objects, plants, pets, and magical substances are in constant circulation from tribe to tribe, from sib to sib. Indians who are in contact with the trading centers of Colombians and Brazilians are often middlemen, pumping manu-

present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Aiarí it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election – one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihí*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

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769 796 house, sweeping every bit of ground to remove the traces of the ancestors. They bent low and uttered low cries of *hi hi hi iii iii*, the same sound used when *mihí* is brought in. This is a sound that spirits understand.

• [342] [346] [574] When the last traces of the ancestors had been swept out, the men called to the women to return. The return of the women restores the house to its normal condition. Before that it is a man's house, a cult house and not a true domicile. This change was marked by having the guests, who had already taken part in the earlier ceremonies, leave, go down to the landing place, march up the path, and be received at the front door in the usual reception line. What seemed to be the beginning of an ordinary drinking party then followed. However, later that night the women were told to move to the rear and to sit facing the rear door. The torches were put out and some old men fetched the hidden horns to play them in the forward men's section. They danced out again and hid the instruments. When the playing stopped, the women rose, lighted the torches again, and took possession of the *konhá* berries. The headman's wife, in her traditional role, supervised and assisted in the preparation of a *konhá* porridge, and the remainder of the berries were distributed to all the adult women. The porridge was prepared quickly and calabashes of it were sent down to the forward end of the house for the men.

Now the mothers turned to their sons to inspect the welts raised by the whippings. But the boys turned away and the mothers knew enough not to persist. The ceremony was over.

This was a truncated ceremony. Normally, the elders who have danced into the house with the ancestor horns after the lights have been put out dance among the women, while other men thrash the women with switches. Then the adult men take turns in whipping one another. None of this was done, they said, because most of the guests they had invited had not come, and feeling dispirited they cut the ceremony short.

769 796 184 However, I had the opportunity of attending another whipping ceremony at the maloca of a subsib. This one was well attended and the atmosphere was properly charged with excitement, helped by a great quantity of chicha and *mihí*. Yet here too the whippings were confined to the young boys and the women were unmolested. At one point, however, the ancestors danced outside the house, and two boys guarded the door while youngsters pelted the front door with berries. This was done not to frighten the women within but to give them a more vivid sense of the "presence" of the ancestors. This was re-

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center.

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough.

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers.

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihí* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner.

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A manioc plantation below a Tukano maloca.

/p. 54-B/

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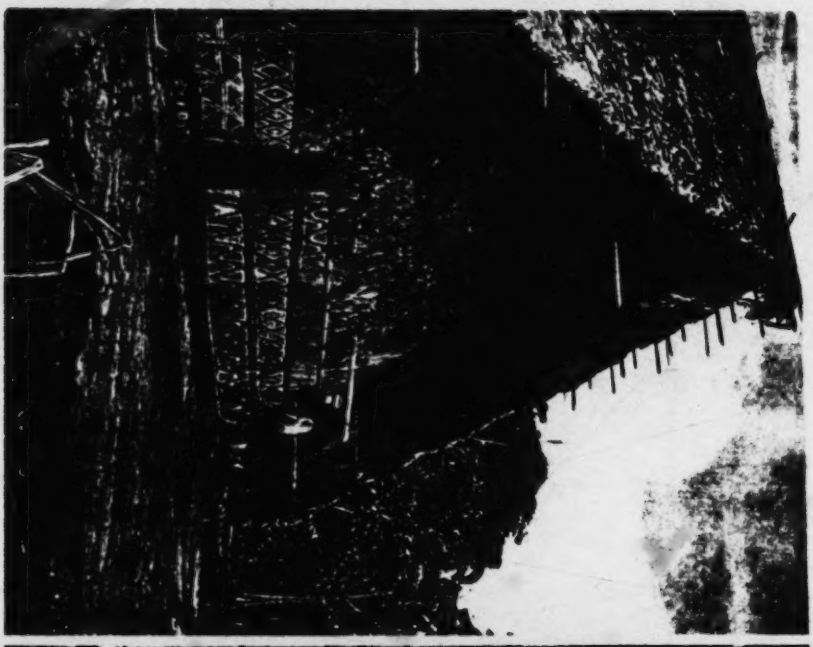

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LEFT: The front, painted with a design in charcoal and clay, and great eaves of a maloca. RIGHT: Cutting palm fronds to thatch the roof.

796 instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by [534] Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey [526] hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

88 As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and 582 brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the 592 plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

462 The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks 592 up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

592 Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities, 361 the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

• 342 A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

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000 *Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.*

 [see p. 62-A]

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

sixty feet wide, with the ridge of its roof thirty feet above the ground. This ridge is supported by six great posts, three on either side; the central space extending down the length of the *maloca* is like the nave of a church. The roof is thatched with palm fronds overlapping to a depth of four inches and extending almost to ground level on either side. These fronds may have to be brought from a great distance and vary in quality – the best lasting for years, while others rot quickly and require frequent patching.

As the sun rises each morning over the surrounding forest it lights on the striking clay and charcoal designs which are painted along the whole width of the front wall. Slivers of light find their way through the palm screening and form patterns on the floor and the walls inside. The only other light comes from the men's and women's entrances at opposite ends of the house, entrances which are often kept shut to discourage the flying insects that are usually at their worst during the middle of the day. From these doorways bars of sunlight cross the hard earth floor, lighting the main posts of the house. Beyond, just discernible, is the *chicha* canoe, the great vat which quenches the thirst of the dancing guests at festivals. Near by stands a forked pole where hang coca pouches, fruit-husk ankle-rattles and fretworked gourd *maracas*. On the floor are calabashes, some with coca inside, others with tobacco, and the wooden stools on which the men squat, passing half the night over their stories of past deeds in tribal wars and great hunting expeditions.

Overhead the smoke-blackened thatch is hidden in the gloom. Hanging from a beam is the most treasured possession: the barkcloth-covered palm box containing ceremonial feathers, monkey-fur belts and puma-tooth necklaces – all the precious adornments for the tribal dances, the greatest occasion of all in the lives of the Indians. The palm-woven screens, which divide the quarters of the women and the head of the house from those of guests, reach from floor to thatch. Near by are the great, flat, pottery cassava ovens. Hosts of baskets and *cumare* hammocks are strung from the house posts around the fires, and the hard earth floor is kept spotlessly clean by thousands of tiny scavenger ants.

Why the *malocas* should have been built on such a vast and gloomy scale remains a mystery. It is possible that their very size gives the Indian a sense of protection from the surrounding forest. It may also help to keep the interior cooler. But it is most likely a sign of depopulation, the breaking up of the clans through rubber exploitation and disease; where once a hundred or more people lived, now there are twenty.

José once told us that his father spoke of tribal wars on the river, when

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ABOVE: *Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking.* BELOW: *Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.* [see p. 62-B]

6t Moser and Tayler E, N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 . SQ19 Tucano SQ19

796 *chagra* and the visiting families began to leave. They moved quietly in single file down to their canoes, unleashed them and paddled away. Life returned to normal. The plumages stood in the sand, shimmering in the sun, before Bréo meticulously packed them away, and with them remained the memory of the dancing figures, resplendent as birds of paradise.

● 342

000 ABOVE LEFT: *An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth.* ABOVE RIGHT: *Boy playing panpipes.* BELOW: *A headman lights a torch of beeswax.* [see p. 82-A]

114 the nebula in his sword. Sirius stood out a pale electric blue and later we could see the Morning Star in the east.

The river was wide and very shallow, and we got into difficulties: 'José went to sleep on the engine and we hit a rock in midstream – a horrible grinding noise as it passed under the boat, then a crash as it hit the engine. She is letting a lot of water in, though it does not seem to have damaged her seriously. We are lucky; if this had been an aluminium boat she would have ripped from end to end.'

Two days below the falls we reached our dump again and reloading our equipment set off downstream, waving goodbye to Uriel who set off for his *maloca* on the Querarí; only José now remained. *El Diablo* was fully loaded again, she began leaking badly and Horacio made running repairs as we moved down the river. Soon a wind got up, the water became very choppy and we found ourselves baling continuously as the water slopped over her two or three inches of freeboard. She was not going to last very much longer.

All along the banks the forest presented a solid wall. There were seldom any
175 breaks where there might have been a habitation. A clan of the Tukano, the Letuama, had lived here before the advance of the rubber barons early in the
● 342 century. A few still remained and we visited one of their houses. The *maloca* was shaped like a pagoda, quite unlike anything we had seen before, round at the base with a steeply slanting thatched roof, terminating in a ridge about thirty feet above the hard earth-baked floor. Inside, every sheaf of each section of thatch seemed to have been measured and the whole had an appearance of amazing symmetry. The light came in through two roof apertures and inside, though cool, it was nearly as bright as outdoors. This was surprising as the darkness of the Amazonian house is a deterrent to flying
[415] insects. In strange contrast to the house were the old aluminium pots and tin trunks lying inside – a sharp reminder that we had left the Piraparaná. The headman and his family had deserted the house and it was now used by the occasional passing Indian as a resting-place.

114 We met two *caucheros* who had their houses on the river bank. One of them, Alirio, was half-Indian by birth. His father had been a European-educated official of the Colombian government, who in his later years had preferred the life of the forest. Alirio had known no other life; he had married an Indian girl and now spent his days collecting wild rubber, selling it to another *cauchero* further down the river. He was talkative and eager to help; he told us of a botanist – Dr Schultes – whom he had accompanied beyond the first rapids on the Piraparaná. When he knew we had come all the way from the Vaupés he seemed almost disbelieving. He told us on no account should we continue all the way to the Caquetá on this river, for there were many rapids; moreover, nearer the mouth of the river there were falls, one nearly as big as Jirijimo. Our only way was by a portage which led through the forest to another river, the Miritiparaná. From there it was possible, he